People used their knowledge of food properties to ameliorate their physical condition. During lactation, for instance, women ate vegetables or not "depending on the condition of the baby," for breast milk was very easily affected by adverse properties. In the broader context of general dietary needs, people entertained ideas about the suitability of certain foods to certain ages, sexes, occupations, conditions, and occasions (Hauck, et al: 42-50). Nevertheless, persons often risked an undesirable effect in food for pleasure. The proper banana variety for ritual use was the tiny kluai nam, yet it was not planted much in Bang Chan because the people "did not like the taste." They substituted the "pleasant-tasting" kluai nam wā. Here orthodoxy came off second. The heat of alcoholic drink relished by men and older women often pressed the margin of safe temperature control. The cobra--turtle--or chicken--plus--alcohol feasts exemplified how readily the elders gambled even on the increment of sin from eating meat, or risked an over-heated temper, for the joy of eating such cherished delicacies.

Food dislikes, if temporary, reflected an imbalance of elements; if usual, an individual constitutional set of the person's elements. To eat disliked food was therefore positively harmful. To urge someone to eat disliked food was wrong.[16]

Illness

All illness, anxiety, and soul loss was caused by intrusions from outside the body. The intrusion might be from a supernatural source (wiset:powerful) or natural (tām thammachāt) (Textor:10) but in either case the result was the same: disruption of the elements. Anxiety, whether caused by a social situation such as fear of frustration, by a broken bone or by a fever, also was a disruption of balance. An attack by the supernatural disease missile, "khun"[17] gave rise to the classic symptoms of wind-excess: "a man cried all the time and had flatulency." Elements were also disorganized by spirit attack. The victim suffered hysteria, paroxysm, flatulence, convulsion,

16. Phillips (p. 65) reported that parents did not give their child a disliked medicine because "it offends him.... It is better not to give it to him than hurt his feelings."

17. This small skin missile invaded the body and then expanded to the size of a buffalo. Intentional attack (sorcery) might kill; accidental, merely pained (cf. Textor:116-127). Suspected khun was one of the few reasons why a family would authorize so grave a violation of the body of a deceased member as an autopsy.

Now that the fire was going nicely and Dūan was "ready to warm her body," the all-important prayer and incantation "to control the hotness and poison" of the fire had to be pronounced lest the mother's body be "swollen or burned." Sāi took raw rice, salt, and alcoholic liquor[36] in her mouth, chewed them, and sprayed them over the fire and over Dūan's body three times, saying "Spirit of the Fire and Wind, may both mother and baby be cool and happy!" and murmuring her secret formula with ancient Pali words about "great fire" and "death."[37] With the shoulder cloth (sabaichiang) that she always wore to the temple draped diagonally over her left shoulder and under her right arm, Dūan knelt and faced the fire. Praying for happiness to the Mothers of the Fire, Fire-floor, and Wind, and finally to the Lord Buddha, the Holy Brotherhood of Priests, and the Sacred Law, she bowed, hands clasped, and touched the floor three times with her forehead. Then she rose and lay down on the plank with the holy fire on her right side.

As Dūan was resting quietly, Sāi made three "taping fruits" (lūk prakhop), balls of tamarind leaves, phlai, and salt wrapped in cloth. One was put well up between Dūan's legs to cure the birth wound (phlāe). The other two were set aside for use on subsequent days. Sāi painted the baby's tongue with alcoholic medicine, and from her fingers dropped a little honey and boiled water into his mouth. Then she laid him on his tray on the floor close by Dūan, on the side away from the fire.

With satisfaction of a job well done, Sāi and Lek sat together for a quiet chew of betel. "Lek," said Sāi, "has it occurred to you on what a good day this boy has been born? It is a Saturday, so he will have power. Nothing, nobody, can hurt him! Once I delivered a boy on that best

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36. Alcohol was heating; rice, strengthening. Salt appears to be drying.

37. The deities addressed were māe phra phlōeng and māe phra phai. Another Pali-Thai magic formula to control fire was: "Phra Mōk Khan Lā Nō will extinguish the fire from hell, na mō phut tha ya." Phra Mogdallana, one of the two most faithful disciples of Buddha, caused the fires of hell to go out (cf. Anuman Rajadhon 1961:137). The na mō...etc. was a traditional phrase to prevent spiritual dangers and is a repetition of the names of the Buddha in five incarnations, past and future (cf. Textor 1960:483-485).

759 the slight differences in ministrations. "The Muslim mid-
795 wife massages more than the Buddhist." The women easily
844 entered into reciprocal courtesies. The Muslim woman knew
571 the steps in the Buddhist winnowing ceremony and performed
[852 them as desired. One Buddhist mother dispensed, however, with the winnowing "because the midwife was Muslim." A Buddhist woman made up the khwan khăo in the fashion specified by the Muslim midwife and participated in the latter's teacher-rite.

795 Certain fundamental ideas of the Muslims led to rein-
779 terpretations of familiar Buddhist terms and activities.
[774 "Khwan" referred to the soul, but with no implication of reincarnation. "Bun," meaning "merit" to the Buddhist,
[782 meant charitable giving in the sense of tithes, for Islam prescribed that a portion of one's income be given to the
[197 poor. On the other hand, the Muslims had taken over many Buddhist practices: for one, the acceptance of Buddhist holy water as a cure for spirit attack.

795 Completely Muslim was the stress on physical and
[783 moral purification as an objective of every rite, and conversely, the prevalence of the idea of defilement.
[304 "Circumcision is to cleanse the body before growing up," it was said. Muslim mortuary rites were elaborate pro-
[764 cedures for purification. When a Muslim baby died, the Buddhist midwife said, "The body was cleaned before burial," implying thorough measures beyond his ordinary
[831 experience. Procreation was viewed as dangerous and contaminating. The behavior that hid sexual phenomena at
[834 the same time by constant prescriptions kept sexuality much more in mind. Muslims separated males from females,
[562 for example, at feasts. No Muslim male ever became a midwife.

795 The events surrounding childbirth illustrated the
843 differing viewpoints between Muslim and Buddhist. In the
844 seventh month of her pregnancy, a Muslim woman called on on her chosen midwife, and gave her a gift of betel pepper leaves and areca nut to assure her services (făk
[273 thong: to deposit gold). On returning home, she went as fast as possible "to insure fast delivery." Since Muslims frowned on liquor, their medicines were made up of hot-tasting spices in hot water. Yet one Muslim mid-
795 wife prescribed large doses of liquor before and during
844 parturition. For labor and delivery, a Muslim was stricter about utilizing the privacy of the small enclos-
[562 ed room, if there were one, while in the Buddhist household "it could be anywhere" in the house. Muslim men, except for husband, brother, or father, were excluded from the scene. The Muslim khwan khăo contained "7

24

262 expenditures by food groups is shown for the 11 families that
511 participated in the dietary study.

Consumption of canned foods was negligible. Some canned fish and fruits were on sale at stores in the village, in 1952-54, but were seldom seen in homes.

262 Sweetened condensed milk, which was served in coffee
272 sold at the stores, was occasionally bought for the children.
854 On one occasion, a woman was seen buying milk diluted with
855 hot water as a beverage. Among 526 records of food eaten by school children during 24 hour periods, milk appeared twice only, once with coffee. Dried milk, for infant feeding, was used occasionally. During 1952-54, several instances were noted in which dried milk, mixed with water, was used to feed an infant while the mother was at work in the field or engaged in vending, but we encountered one case only of an infant who was not breast fed. This was an infant whose mother died when he was five days old, and who was reared by grandparents.

262 Relatively few items of food were available at the vil-
443 lage stores. In the inventory of the largest of the three
[27] stores in the village in 1948-49 (Sharp et al., 1953, pp. 211-212) the following items of food were listed: big dried chilies, shrimp paste, onion, garlic, fish sauce (fishsoy), salted fish, fresh chilies, limes, coconut, coconut oil[1], brown (palm) sugar, tea, coffee, condensed milk, orangeade and lemonade (carbonated), sweets, liquor, ingredients (including a lime paste) used together in betel chewing.[2]

New stock received in December by a local vendor who kept a few items for sale at her house included mature green beans, black beans, peanuts, sweet potatoes, salted turnip, pickled garlic and tomato sauce.

272 Larger stores served as informal men's clubs where tea,
443 coffee with condensed milk, and carbonated beverages were
515 sold primarily for consumption on the premises. The proprietor of a new store, built in December 1952, sold no liquor.

273 We have no estimate of the amount of liquor sold in Bang
443 Chan, although for those who drank it, its caloric value might
[443] be of significance.[3] About 9% of the householders interviewed

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[354] 1. Listed by Sharp et al. with non-food items, as much of it was burned in lamps.

2. Included here as food since some calcium may be obtained from this source.

3. One observer estimated the intake of certain village men who drank regularly as at least 2 oz. of rice liquor (28-35% alcohol) per day, representing about 100 calories. The estimated intake of women who drank regularly was about 1 oz. per day.

273 in 1955 (Goldsen and Ralis, 1957, p. 57) said they drank whiskey often, 22% drank occasionally, 47% seldom, and only 22% said they never drank it.

Sale of Home Produced Foods

433 434 443 Although a majority of the families in Bang Chan made most of their cash income by rice farming, sale of other home produced foods, fish, and food materials such as swamp cabbage and lotus stems which grew wild in the canals was a minor but relatively steady source of income for many families. Six of the 11 families that participated in the dietary [442] study obtained some income from sale of food[1]. The woman frequently had major responsibility for these activities. As noted by Sharp et al. (1953), a few poor families only, added to their income by selling fish.

121 In connection with this study, our concern with sale of home produced foods is primarily with the nutritional rather than the economic aspects,[2] although the two cannot be completely dissociated. Do activities of this sort on the part of some families make a greater variety of foods available to the villagers as a whole? Are some foods sold for cash which from the nutritive standpoint, might well be kept for home use? If so, is the cash thus obtained used to purchase other foods or non-food items? Is the food purchased as useful, from the nutritive standpoint, as that sold? From the standpoint of improving the nutritive value of the diet of Bang Chan families in general, would more home production of fruits, vegetables, fish and eggs by most families be feasible, or should a few families be encouraged to develop these activities on a year round basis, to increase the local supply of food other than rice? Questions of this sort must be considered by anyone attempting to improve food habits in the village.

Annual Calendar of Foods Commonly Used

221 227 125 [128] From the records extending over the period of a year, of foods used by various families participating in the dietary study, and from food records provided by children in the health classes in December 1952, February, May, June, July, September, October and November 1953, and January 1954, a calendar has been constructed showing the approximate times of year at which the foods most commonly used in Bang Chan were available (Chart 2). Foods included in this chart were

1. See Table 8, p. 62.

2. See Janlekha (1955).

[Text continues on page 29 --- Analyst]

264 would not come willingly to work. When a family with a repu-
476 tation for stinginess diluted the (3)khaaw (3)tom too much,
[576] the group refused to eat any, thereby reminding the host of his obligation for hospitality.

574 Guests to whom meals were served fell into four categories: 1) kin, 2) visiting dignitaries, 3) priests and 4) drinking companions. Kinfolk who came as guests were married children, or those who were away at school or work, or kinsmen from Bangkok or elsewhere. The older the relative or the greater the distance travelled, the greater the honor accorded him. Foods were exchanged. Two visiting ladies travelling in a large boat, made an annual round of all their relatives, bringing certain "city" foods and receiving substantial gifts of rice, fish and fruit. They stayed for several days as guests of one family, then moved on. Every person from Bang
[431] Chan who visited a relative in Bangkok carried big packages of food, usually rice or eggs, as gifts. With the inflated prices in Bangkok, it was advantageous to have a "country cousin" who might bring food. Visiting kinsmen always recognized the need for eventual reciprocity.

Visiting dignitaries were usually entertained by hamlet headmen. Meals served to visiting officials, policemen and others might be elaborate, involving cooperative help in preparation, but reciprocity, if any, rarely took the form of a return meal.

[792] Regular visits of the priests, as well as the invitation of priests to the house for special events, have been mentioned. Priests might also come from afar, usually staying at the temple but receiving generous offerings of food from people of the community.

[562] The custom of convivial get-togethers of either or both sexes was well established. Men traditionally enjoyed "stag" dinners of four up to twenty or more whenever the ingredients for a turtle, frog, cobra or other snake curry were available. Chicken curry might also be thus served, and once a catfish mash was prepared by a male visitor from the north. Those curries were cooked by men, and the host served liquor freely.
784 The all-male character of the occasion reflected the old re-
[213] strictions on women's partaking of flesh foods (see p. 42), but older women did not hesitate to join in the drinking.
[524] Women also got together in drinking parties, sometimes to play cards.

In addition to sharing food with people in these four categories, the general rules of hospitality required that anyone who came to the house at meal time, should be offered food, or at least a drink of liquor, tea, or plain water.

435 Some information as to the cost in baht of the larger
796 ceremonies held in 1954, and their scale, was obtained from
[124] the school teacher's diary. Examples follow:

[792] Ordination: Total cost 8,000, including food 1400, liquor 800. Guests contributed 4000.

[852] Top-knot tonsure: Total cost 1550, including new utensils 550; 6 priests fed; each priest given 12 baht; 12 (2)pin-(1)toos filled to take to the temple; 100 duck eggs donated, and 300 baht received from 30-40 guests.

[714] Cremation[1]: Total cost 40,000[2], including about 10,000 for food; 61 priests fed[3]. About 500 guests contributed 4377.

[875] Homage-to-the-teacher ritual:
A: Total cost 715, including food 565 and liquor 150; 40 tang (800 liters) fish and 3 tang Chinese noodles donated.
B: Total cost, 11,000[4].

[585] Wedding: A: Thai Buddhist: Total cost 5000.
Guests gave 2300.
[583] B: Rite of forgiveness after elopement: a meal, with 5 bottles of liquor.
[184] C: Moslem: 2 buffalo slaughtered.
400 guests.

585 Arranged marriages could be large merit-making affairs,
262 with a huge procession from one house to the other of twenty-
four "pairs" of specified foods, i.e. two bearers each of
[583] sugar cane, fruits, sweetmeats and other things. At more
modest weddings and the rite of forgiveness for a couple who had eloped, food might differ from the usual fare only by including the three essentials of a wedding: pork, chicken and alcohol.

273 Increased consumption of alcoholic beverages during the
796 ceremonial season was indicated by the sales of one local
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1. Cremation was the last of several rites at death. Private 7-day, 30-day and 100-day rites were held, when priests came to the home to chant and to be feasted.

2. With cooperative assistance from well-situated relatives in Bangkok.

3. The whole chapter of priests from Wat Bang Chan
[792] was always included at cremations, and often others from a
[574] distance.

4. See list of food purchased, Appendix A, pp. 102-103.

443 storekeeper: about 800-900 liter bottles per month during
273 the 3 months dry season as compared to about 350 bottles per
796 month during the 9 months of the rice season.

184 Moslems never served liquor at their weddings, crema-
[273] tions, and other auspicious events. Moslem residents occa-
sionally attended Buddhist (l)ngaan in spite of dietary pro-
[262] scriptions that Buddhists did not observe.[1] A medium (spirit-
ualist) commented however that because pig's head was essen-
tial for her homage-to-the-teacher rites, some Moslem sick
persons preferred to go to the Buddhist temple for treatment.
There the priest-practitioner could afford to set up a separate
kitchen for his Moslem patients, and so spare them the dis-
tress of confronting pork. To one big ordination Moslem
guests brought their own food. Buddhists came somewhat more
often to Moslem ceremonies.

262 We do not have enough information to appraise the nutri-
574 tional significance of food eaten at ceremonies. Some indi-
476 viduals got a great deal of it, others very little. One must
264 remember that the (l)ngaan was not a public but a private
event at home, to which guests came on invitation. Although
cremations and the teacher-rites of priest-practitioners were
held at the temple, and so had a semi-public character, no one
who was not invited presented himself for food. Of the par-
ticipants, the working group undoubtedly received the most
food; they were there the longest time, had regular meals,
tastings and snacks throughout the (l)ngaan meal itself. This
group comprised the host, co-sponsors and their immediate kin;
other relatives and friends who were asked or who volunteered
to help. The feeling was, if one were "very fond" of the
host, one volunteered to cook. If less close, one was invited
as a guest, but made the usual cash donation. Sociable per-
sons combining skill and energy were invited often and volun-
[883] teered often, hence spent many days at ceremonies. Young un-
married men and women were asked and liked to be asked to
work, for such occasions offered a great chance for fun and
flirting.

114 Different degrees of participation may be estimated
476 from Janlekha's (1955) figures for reported contributions
796 ranging from 30 to 1000 baht in a year. Since a contribution
of 5 to 10 baht per (l)ngaan was customary, the villager with
the lowest reported contribution probably attended from 3 to
6 ceremonial occasions. Attendance at 100 or more (l)ngaan
is unlikely, hence the villager who gave as much as 1000 baht
probably made larger contributions per (l)ngaan.

574 What sort of persons or groups in the village were in-
796 vited as guests? Every host's list included his older

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[702] 1. Moslems were said to resist army service because they were afraid they would have to eat pork.

146 more than fats and oils as such.
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Bananas were grown by all families that participated in the study, but were eaten only occasionally, primarily as [263] snacks. Tamarind and lime were used often in small amounts in making sour curry and chili sauce, and bergamot rind was used for seasoning. Papaya and mango, both of which are good sources of vitamin A and C, were each eaten once only during the survey. The green papaya was used in curry. Fruits are relatively abundant in Thailand, the year round, yet fruit made minor contributions to the diets of families studied in Bang Chan.

Fats and oils. - Fats were used in small amounts to pan fish, meat, eggs and vegetables, and provided about 1/7 of the total fat in the diet of Group A, and 2/7 for Group B. Coconut oil, which was less expensive than pork fat, was more often used in Group A.

Sugar. - Palm sugar was used in small amounts in the preparation of many "with-rice" dishes, and occasionally in snacks, i.e. guava dipped in a mixture of sugar, salt, chili, mung beans cooked in palm syrup and the like. The amounts used were small, and the contribution to nutritive value was slight. By Western standards, the consumption of sugar in Bang Chan was almost negligible.

146 Spices. - Spices were commonly used in food preparation,
263 particularly in hot dishes (i.e. those made with chilies) but little information on their nutritive value is available.

146 Alcoholic beverages. - In the families surveyed, all men
273 except the elderly father in Household 21 drank occasionally, but most of the women did not. The husbands in Households 12 and 67 drank heavily at times. No estimate can be made of the contribution of alcoholic beverages to caloric intake in these households.

146 Summary of Nutrient Contributions of Foods Commonly
262 Eaten in Two Groups of Households. - The contribution in terms
[128] of calories and nutrients of certain foods used by 25% or more of the families studied, i.e. by 3 or more of the families on at least one survey day is shown in Table 13. Items selected for inclusion in this table are those which either made significant contributions to the nutrient content of the diets of Groups A and B respectively, or were major items in terms of amounts used or frequency of use. For certain items used frequently for seasoning, information on nutritive value was too scant to warrant inclusion in this table. Figures given are for average consumption per capita per day, based on all persons in the specified groups, and all survey days. For items used by all or most families every day, such as rice, fresh fish, chili, coconut products, and sugar, the figures represent approximately the usual daily per capita consumption.

262 435 796 [915] Food for Homage-to-the-Teacher Rite (cont.)

Item	Amount	Cost in Baht
Fruit:		
Bananas ((3)kluaj (4)nam-(4)waa)	5 bun.	from father
Chico[2]		5.
Coconut	150	180.
Coconut (young, to make dessert)	30	30.
Job's tears	1 lit.	3.
Plums, yellow[2]		5.
Pomelos[2]		6.
Rose apples[2]		2.
Tamarind		7.50
Tomato sauce		8.
Young palm fruit[4]	7 bun.	3.
Vegetables (non leafy):		
Bamboo shoots, cooked	1 pail	28.
[272] Cucumber		--3
[273] Egg plants		--3
[274] Garlic	5 kg.	26.50
Gourd, white		1.
Onion, fragrant[5]		6.
Onion[5]	4 kg.	4.
Onion, welsh[5]		--3
Mushrooms		3.
Radish, white		--3
[354] **Vegetables (leafy green and yellow):**		
Cabbages		--3
Chinese kale		--3
Chili, green		7.50
Vegetables (leafy green & yellow) cont.:		
Lettuce		--3
Parsley		--3
Pumpkin	3 fruits	12.
Sweet basil leaves		1.
Sweet potatoes	6 kg.	6.
(3)Tang-(5)oo		--3
Seasonings etc.:		
Vinegar	1 bottle	1.
Fishsoy	1 jar	10.
(2)Ka-(1)chaaj	2½ kg.	12.50
Sodium glutamate		5.
Pepper		14.
Agar	400 gms.	36.
Miscellaneous:		
Cola beverage	72 bottles	72.6
Liquor	16 bottles	80.6
Ice		30.6
Cigarettes	2 pkgs.	--6
Tobacco	1 heap	--6
Betel pepper		9.
Fresh areca nut		10.
Dried areca nut		8.
Dried palm leaves	1 big bundle	2.
Firewood		50.
	Total	1577.75

[1084]
1. For Moslem guests.
2. Food items placed on a tray and used in the ceremony proper.
3. Items so marked cost a total of 140 baht.
4. Not identified.
5. Several kinds of onions, both fresh and dried, are commonly used.
6. Prices not stated; estimate for liquor.

57 125

53. Which of the following six qualities do you feel is the best thing for man: Virile, friendly, educated, rich, religious, lazy? [577]

5.	To be virile	2
6.	To be friendly	31
7.	To be educated	56
8.	To be rich	43
9.	To be religious	126
X.	Not to be lazy	57
Y.	Unascertainable	15
—	No Answer	3

54. Do you drink tea frequently, occasionally, seldom, or never? [272]

1.	Often	22
2.	Occasionally	68
3.	Seldom	158
4.	Never	85

55. Do you drink whiskey frequently, occasionally, seldom, or never? [273]

5.	Often	29
6.	Occasionally	73
7.	Seldom	157
8.	Never	74
9.	Unascertainable	—

56.a. In Thailand are many people who smoke opium. Excuse me, during your life have you ever smoked opium, or not? [276]

1.	Yes	45
2.	No	287
3.	Unascertainable	1

b. IF NO: Excuse me, do you think there is anything wrong with smoking opium, or not?

4.	Yes, it is wrong	281
5.	No, it is not wrong	5
6.	Unascertainable	1

c. IF SOMETHING WRONG: What are the various reasons why you think it is wrong?

7.	Bad for health	43
8.	Habit forming	62
9.	Waste of money	220
X.		
Y.	Other reasons, specify_____	40
0.	Unascertainable	

57.a. In the last month, how many times did you go to Nimburi or didn't you go at all? [484]

0.	Did not go at all	67
1.	Once	55
2.	2 to 4 times	120
3.	5 to 9 times	39
4.	10 to 19 times	30
5.	20 times or more	20
6.	Unascertainable	2

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511 On the other hand, there are scores of items that have to be bought for daily consumption. These are:
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515 (a) Food -- fish, fish sauce, shrimp paste, meat, coconut, onions, garlic, dried chili, curry essence, limes, tamarind, palm sugar, white sugar, salt, and cookies: (b) Stimulant -- dried areca, betel, lime, tobacco, tobacco binder, and liquor; (c) Clothing; (d) Medicine; (e) Soap; (f) Fuel -- Kerosine, matches, charcoal, and fire wood. The list includes only standard items appearing on our check list. Actually, there are more of such items as coffee, tea, lemonade, coca-cola, and pepsi-cola. Articles that are bought but do not appear on the check list for ordinary household expenses for certain technical reasons which will be discussed in the section on consumption later in this chapter are building materials, machinery, farm equipment, furniture and household utensils.

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000 The Operator's Remuneration and Measures of Success

From almost the beginning of the study of farm management in the United States, much effort has been given to measuring the success of farming businesses, or of farm-family undertakings or enterprises, and then of correlating various factors with these, such as size of business, yields per acre or per animal, or work-efficiency measured perhaps as crop acres per man or per horse or per tractor, with a view to discovering some general farm management principles or rules for a farmer or farm family to follow in becoming more successful. Black, Clawson, Sayre and Wilcox give the